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NARRATIVE

OF

CERTAIN EVENTS

CONNECTED WITH

THE LATE DISTURBANCES IN JAMAICA,

AND THE

CHARGES PREFERRED

AGAINST THE

Baptist Missionaries in that Island:

Being the substance of a Letter to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, dated March 13, 1832.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY.

LONDON:

HOLDSWORTH AND BALL, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD;
AND WIGHTMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW.

And may be had at the Society's House, 6, Fen Court,
Fenchurch Street.

1832.

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The public are generally aware that strenuous attempts have been made to represent Christian Missionaries in Jamaica, more especially those connected with the Baptist denomination, as having been concerned in instigating or promoting the late disturbances in that island. What degree of credit is due to such representations every impartial reader of the following document will judge for himself. The facts it discloses having been already partially made public in Jamaica, the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society are compelled, by a sense of justice to their brethren, as well as to the great cause of civil and religious liberty, so grievously outraged in their persons, to lay them before the British community also. Should it be asked why the publication was not delayed till the result of the prosecution instituted against Messrs. Gardner and Knibb was known, a perusal of the narrative will, it is presumed, suggest an obvious and satisfactory reply.

Fen Court, 8th May, 1832.

35585

LETTER,

&c.

Montego Bay, Jamaica, March 13, 1832.

My dear Sir,

I wrote you by the last packet a brief statement of the unpleasant circumstances and awful insurrection then raging with great violence in this Colony, as also of the distressing situation in which myself and several other of your Missionaries were placed; but, as it is probable that that letter will never reach you (several of our letters having been intercepted during the war), I will now give you an outline of the most important scenes through which we have been called to pass, of the various base, mean, and illegal means resorted to by our enemies for the purpose of criminating us, and of our present situation in the hands of wicked men, who thirst for our blood; most earnestly imploring an interest in your intercessions at a throne of grace, and intreating you to make an earnest appeal to the British Government and to the Christian world on behalf of your persecuted and afflicted Missionaries.

On Monday, December 26th, Mrs. A. and myself came to this place, pursuant to an agreement with the Brethren, for the purpose of opening Salters' Hill Chapel on the following day; found Brother Gardner here, and united with him in holding a prayer-meeting at the Chapel in the evening, during which Brethren Knibb and Whitehorne, with their wives, arrived. Brother Knibb stated that Mr. Blyth (Presbyterian Missionary)

had called on him that morning, and informed him "That he had heard that the slaves did not intend working after the Christmas holidays, and he feared it was too true;" and that he (Mr. Blyth) had begged him to use his influence to prevent it, by sending a messenger, saying, "That the King had *not* sent out their free papers (as they laboured under the impression that such was the case), and begging them to go to their work as usual;" which Mr. Knibb stated he had done. Tuesday, 27th, I went with the Brethren to Salters' Hill, and heard there, from several persons, that the Negroes did not intend to work after the Christmas holidays. We all exhorted them, before service, "to go to work on the morrow as usual; that no free paper had come out for them," &c. At eleven o'clock Brother Gardner preached from "There they preached the Gospel." When he had closed, Brother K. addressed the congregation (at least 1000), nearly to the following effect:—"My dear hearers, especially those who belong to this Church, pay great attention to what I have to say; it is now nearly seven years since I left my native land to preach the Gospel to you, and, when I came, I made up my mind to live and die to promote your spiritual welfare. Till yesterday I had hoped that God had blessed my poor labours, and the labours of your Minister, who loves you and prays for you, and who is now in England for his health; but I am pained to the soul, on being told that many of you have agreed not to work any more for your owners, and I fear it is too true; I learn that some wicked persons have persuaded you that the King has made you free. Hear me! I love your souls; I would not tell you a lie for the world! I assure you it is false. I intreat you not to believe it, but to go to your work as formerly; if you have any love to Jesus Christ, to religion, to your friends in England, do not be led away. God commands you to be obedient, and, if you do not do as he commands you, he will not do you any good." They received these and other intreaties in a very sullen and bad spirit, though some of them promised to do as we had advised them. We returned home, fearing the spirit of insubordination was deeply rooted, and in the evening our apprehensions were sadly con-

firmed, on beholding numerous fires in the interior, the reflection from which completely illuminated the surrounding hills. We had service here in the evening, when I spoke from these words:—"Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory." Towards the close of the service we were disturbed by some mischievous person throwing fire into the Chapel; this threw the congregation into confusion, and I was obliged to finish very abruptly.

Wednesday, December 28th.—It was our intention to have separated and have gone to our respective stations for the ensuing Sabbath; but the Brethren, thinking it dangerous for me to go into the interior (the country being in a dreadful state of confusion —fires in every direction, and the military on active service), advised my going to Falmouth with them, which I accordingly did the same evening; and, on arriving there, found that the same spirit of insubordination existed, though but little damage had been done by fire in that parish. In the evening we united with several Presbyterian Ministers (who had fled to the town for protection), and the Wesleyan Minister of the place, in a prayer-meeting at the Methodist Chapel, for the special purpose of imploring the Almighty to suppress that rebellion which was spreading desolation and destruction around us. It was, I trust, a united and profitable meeting. On the 29th, we had private prayer-meetings during the day at Brother K.'s house, and in the evening a public one at his Chapel, similar to the one at the Wesleyan's on the preceding evening. On returning from the chapel we saw several fires, apparently in the direction of St. James. On the 31st, martial law was proclaimed at Falmouth, when we had reason to fear we should be called upon to do duty in the Militia. We consulted as to what steps should be taken on our parts if we were called on, and prayed for direction. We knew that great prejudice existed against us, as Missionaries: and though we deplored, as much as any others could possibly do, that such a revolutionary spirit existed amongst the Negroes, we felt very unwilling to take up arms, both on account of the society we should have to mix with, and its inconsistency with our duties as ministers of the gospel of peace.

1832. January 1st. The new year was ushered in with the sound of the drum and the din of war. We had a prayer-meeting at seven A.M. at Brother K.'s Chapel, and again at eleven A.M., when Brother K. addressed the people on the unhappy state of things, exhorted the slave portion of his congregation to be faithful and obedient to their owners, to return to their work, and not be led away by any evil-disposed persons. Brethren Nichols and Whitehorne returned to Brother K.'s house, when a guard came for them, and desired them to proceed to the Court-House with them (the Court-House being used as a barrack for the Militia), which they accordingly did. The same guard met Brother K. and myself as we were returning home, and told us our presence was required at the Court-House directly. We went, after calling at Mr. K.'s house, and found Brethren Nichols and Whitehorne in the guard-room; we waited for some time, when Major Nelson (Militia) came and informed us that we must appear there every day and report ourselves. I then asked him at what time we were to come; he said, "Whenever you like." I asked if ten o'clock would be convenient. He replied "Yes." We then returned to Brother Knibb's house, "thanked God and took courage." Had a social prayer-meeting in the evening, at which several of the free members of the church, and Mr. Box, Wesleyan minister, were present. On Monday, January the 2d, we had a social prayer-meeting at nine A.M; went to the guard-room at eleven o'clock, and reported ourselves. After waiting about an hour, Colonel Cadien came to us, and said, "We sent for you, as every person is called upon to do military duty in such times as these." Mr. Whitehorne asked him "if Ministers of the Gospel were not exempt, at *all times*, from Militia duty." Colonel C. replied, "That during martial law they must do it as well as others." Mr. Nichols, being ill, then requested and obtained from the Colonel a pass for him to go to St. Anne's. I then made some remarks to this effect:—"That I was from home, and had but little clothes with me; and that if my services were required I should go to Lucea (my place of residence), and do it there." He replied, "We require your

services here." I then stated "that, during my residence in this country, I had always been exempted from doing Militia duty, on account of illness; and, having broken my arm, I had been allowed to send a substitute." He replied, "Your services are imperatively called for;" and, seeing no chance of an honorable escape from doing a service so revolting to my feelings, I said "that, as I could not carry a musket, I would join the artillery," to which he consented, and I did so. Mr. Knibb asked if he might join the artillery also, but he was not allowed to do so. The Colonel then said, "The only white company here at present is the 4th battalion; so that, for the present, I shall consider you as attached to that company." Mr. Whitehorne stated that he held a commission as captain, which he was requested to send for, and report himself every day until it came. We were then discharged, and ordered to appear when the roll would be called at five P.M. We did so, and took our places in our respective companies. Mr. Knibb, being indisposed, got leave for the night, and I was obliged to remain, and was ordered to be on *guard* at ten o'clock in the night. I then sought repose in one of the rooms of the Court-House (used as barracks), but sought it in vain; the constant bustle and confusion, and the boisterous and blasphemous language of my companions in arms, "drove sleep from my eyes and slumber from mine eyelids." At ten P.M. I was called to go on guard, and accordingly went to the station appointed to me, in the centre of the town, where I remained until a quarter to one o'clock, when I was relieved, and returned to my bed on a *table* in the guard-room; and towards morning enjoyed a few hours' repose, which considerably refreshed me.

On Tuesday, January 3d, the day ever to be remembered by myself and Brethren, on account of the brutal treatment we met with, as also on account of the kind interposition of Divine Providence in raising up a friend to protect us, I attended at the roll-call at six A.M., and mustered with a set of unseemly beings of all ages, all colours, and complexions, picked up during the existence of martial law. At eight A.M. I went, by leave from my commanding officer, to Mr. Knibb's to breakfast.

Mr. K. remained at the Court-House. At ten A.M. I went again to the Court-House, and found that Mr. Knibb had been *arrested* during my absence. I may here remark that, during my leave of absence for breakfast, I went with Mr. Whitehorne to Colonel Cadien with a copy of a petition, which we proposed sending to the Governor, praying, "That he (the Governor) would exempt us from doing military duty." The Colonel took it, with some remarks as to its inutility; and, on my going to the Court-House after breakfast, the Colonel presented it to me, saying, in reply to my question, "Have you any remarks to make on it?" "No; you can do as you like about it." I then paced the passage of the Court-House, and saw Mr. Knibb in the *guard-room*, but could not learn why he had been arrested. I was, however, soon relieved from anxiety on that account by Captain Christie, who came to me, and said, "The Colonel has ordered me to *put you under restraint.* I immediately gave him my sword, and was, with Mr. Knibb, guarded to the ball-room up stairs, then used as a barrack-room also, when a sentinel was placed at the door. In a few minutes Mr. Whitehorne joined us, when a conversation ensued between us as to the probability of his sharing the same fate: and, on his attempting to retire, we found that our suspicions were not groundless, as he was prevented by the sentinel from doing so. About eleven A.M. Captain Christie came and informed us "that Colonel Cadien thought it advisable to send us to head-quarters (Montego Bay), that a mode of conveyance would be ready in *half an hour*, and he requested us to be ready by that time," without stating *why* we had been arrested, or why we were thus unceremoniously to be sent away. Mr. Knibb asked if he might be *allowed* to see his *wife and children* for a *few minutes!* The Captain went to the Colonel about it, and returned, saying that Colonel Cadien *could not* allow him to do so. He then asked if he might *write* to them? and was at first told "No;" but we were afterwards allowed to put down on a slip of paper (and send it OPEN) what articles we required for the journey! *This*, my dear Sir, was the *only intercourse* we were allowed to have with our wives, though we

knew not why we had been *arrested, and no charge whatever had been preferred against us!* We then got our little luggage ready, sent word to our wives to proceed on to Montego Bay by land, and about half-past eleven A.M. Captain Christie came to say that a *canoe* had been prepared, and was ready to take us to head quarters. Serjeant Lyons came and said he had received orders to *search* us, which he did in as genteel a manner as he could consistently with his duty. We then proceeded towards the beach where the canoe lay, the serjeant in front with *his sword drawn!* the four men who were to guard us walked on either side of us, with *loaded muskets and fixed bayonets!* We were then paraded through the town (*thus guarded*), and went on board an *open canoe*, about twenty minutes before twelve o'clock. The beach was lined with both friends and foes. A solemn stillness pervaded the whole scene: a motion was made by some individual to give a salute, or hurrah, on our departure, but this part of their wrath was restrained. The circumstances connected with this unjust proceeding will, I think, be ever fresh in my recollection. Let British subjects, British Christians, judge, if they can, what our feelings must have been at that moment. Let them picture to their imaginations three *British* subjects, Christians, and Missionaries, in a British colony, and *professedly* under the British laws, about to be forced from their wives and children, without being permitted to *see* them; to be sent in an *open canoe*, under guard of five men, a distance of twenty-one miles, without being informed *why* or wherefore, or *any charge* being preferred against them; and then let them repress their indignation, if they can—for they must be more than human not to feel it. We were seven hours in this open canoe, treated civilly enough by our guard, but compelled to hear language very painful to a Christian's feelings. At seven P.M. we landed at Montego Bay, and were marched to the Court-House (guarded as before, with drawn swords and bayonets); and from thence to Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton's lodgings, situated exactly opposite Mr. Burchell's residence, at which place our dear wives had arrived some hours previously.

They met us in the *street* with a little brandy and water, which we took, having tasted no food since the morning. The sergeant delivered his despatch, received further orders, marched us to the Court-House again, from thence to the residence of the custos (the Hon. Richard Barrett), and from thence back to the Court-House again, *guarded as before.* We were then taken to Major Coates (a magistrate also), who said to us individually, in a polite manner, "I have received orders from the custos to place you under guard in this place," or something to that effect. We were then placed in the *jury-box*, and *a candle stuck in a bottle* placed in front of us, that we might be the better gazed at, and with four men with *drawn bayonets* to guard us; and, from the remarks made by them and others, we learnt that they were impressed with the idea that *sectarian preachers* were the *promoters* and *directors* of the rebellion. The horrible imprecations used, and the demoniacal fury under the influence of which our guards and others appeared to be, gave me the most awful idea I have ever had of the depravity of the human heart. It would be morally impossible for me to give you even a faint idea of the situation in which we were then placed. The following are a few of the expressions made use of by these monsters in human form:—

Mr. Knibb felt fatigued and asked leave of one of the guards, at his right, to lie down on the *bare boards;* his reply was a volley of oaths, with "no, you —— rascal, if you attempt to move one inch *I'll thrust this bayonet through you!* (pointing the one he held in his hand close to Mr. K.'s breast) you —— villain." A conversation took place between the two guards at the right, when the one who acted so shamefully throughout said (pointing to Mr. K.) "This is *the notorious Knibb,* who *robs* our Negroes of their *Macaronies!* but, never mind, he will be *hung to morrow.*" I was at this time suffering much from a violent pain in my back, to which I was subject, but it was then unusually severe, arising no doubt from constant exertion and anxiety; and turning to Mr. Whitehorne said, "What a violent pain I have in my back!" on which the same guard said *(pointing his bayonet at me)*, "Hold your tongue,

you *rascal*, or I'll thrust *this bayonet through you*, and I won't speak to you twice either—you villain." In the presence of such a wretch I need not say that we could not—dared not sleep; and in this situation we fully expected remaining till morning; but that God who is always present with his people, to succour and protect them in the hour of need, raised up a friend for us, at a time when we least expected it. About 11 o'clock at night Mr. R., Collector of H. M. Customs, and an old friend of Mr. Whitehorne's, came hastily into the jury box, and extending his hand to Mr. W. said, "How are you? I am sorry to see you here—I do not know what charges are against you, and, therefore, do not wish to interfere with the administration of justice; but, if I can do any thing to make you more comfortable than you are at present, I shall be glad." Mr. W. replied to these kind offers—when the guards made an attempt to drive Mr. R. out of the jury box, saying, we were prisoners, we had ruined the country, and much more to the same effect. Mr. R. then addressed himself to the officer on guard, and was allowed to have free intercourse with us. He (Mr. R.) kindly offered to procure lodgings for us, or to give us a room at his own office, provided he could obtain our discharge from the Court-House for the night; and he then left us for the purpose of making the attempt. During his absence, feeling faint, having tasted nothing since the morning, Mr. K. and myself took a little biscuit, and brandy and water, we had brought with us; on seeing which, one of the officers below said, "See, those *fellows* are taking the *blessed Sacrament!*" These and many more insulting remarks we were compelled to hear for some time, until we were happily relieved by the re-appearance of Mr. R., who, after *very great* exertion, had procured our discharge from that den of horror, misery, and iniquity, for the night. We, therefore, with heartfelt delight, accompanied him immediately to his office, where we laid our weary limbs to rest, after having poured out our souls before God in thankfulness for his great mercy towards us; and, though our way seemed very dark and mysterious, we were enabled to say, "Hitherto the Lord our God hath helped us." Thus closed

the ever to be remembered January 3rd; and, on the morning of January 4th, Mr. R. went, and brought our dear wives to see us; he had ordered breakfast, and we had once more the happiness of taking a meal together. During the time we were at breakfast, our indefatigable friend, Mr. R., was active in the work of benevolence; for we had scarcely finished before he came and presented us with the following acceptable document he had procured from the Custos, dated, Jan. 4, 1832.

[COPY.]

"The Major-General having handed over three Baptist Missionaries, Wm. Knibb, Wm. Whitehorne, and T. Abbott, to me, and there being no specific charges against them, they may be liberated on giving security in £50 each not to leave the town of Montego Bay, and to appear whenever called upon to do so.

(Signed) RICHARD BARRETT, Custos."

On receiving this document, Mr. Roby (collector of customs), Mr. Manderson (a member of assembly), and Mr. Guthrie (collecting constable), immediately became our securities; and about 10 o'clock A. M. Mr. Roby accompanied us to lodgings in Jackson Town, in which we still remain. Mr. Roby then stated that great prejudice existed against us, because many of the rebels, who had been caught, were Baptists. That *many* persons charged us, as Missionaries, with having excited the Negroes to rebellion; but that the less prejudiced and more discerning portion of the community thought with himself that we had been "the *unintentional* cause of it." That the slaves had perverted passages of scripture which we had read to them, such as "*Fight the good fight of faith*," "*If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed*," &c. "That what he had done for us was merely an act of justice—that popular clamor ran very high against us, but that *he* should consider us innocent until we had been proved guilty," &c. &c. We of course felt and expressed our gratitude, for the disinterested part he had taken, and he soon after left us. I have been thus particular, my dear Sir, in describing the transactions of the 3rd and 4th January,

because it was stated in the *Cornwall Chronicle* (an illiberal and irreligious paper) of the 7th January that we were "arrested at Falmouth, and sent down here for REFUSING *to do military duty.*" The injustice and falsity of this statement will give you some idea of the weapons with which Missionaries are assailed in this country. I might here introduce numerous extracts from the above, and the Jamaica Courant, a notorious infidel paper of a most illiberal and prejudicial kind; the editor of the latter, especially, has called upon the public to *raze our Chapels to the ground*, which advice they have already followed; and then to *take our lives*—this they have not done: "For not a single shaft can hit, 'till the God of love sees fit." But it would take up too much of your time were I to do so—and you will most probably see the papers which are so justly styled by every liberal and unprejudiced man "Jamaica's Curse."

On the 5th and 6th January, we spent our time quiet and unmolested at our lodgings—praying to Almighty God that he would suppress the rebellion, and restore peace and tranquillity to the people, and mourning over the barren and desolate state of this once rich and fruitful parish. We were grieved, on looking at the surrounding hills, to behold nothing but the bare walls remaining of the sugar works, Pens, and beautiful villas, with which they were thickly studded. Faithful servants were flying in every direction, carrying on their heads boxes and furniture, which they had saved from the wreck of their masters' property. Misery was depicted in every countenance, and this look was only exchanged for the more hateful one of malice and revenge, when they beheld an innocent and unoffending Missionary, whom they unjustly charged with being the author of their ruin.

On the 7th, Mr. and Mrs. Burchell and child, Mr. and Mrs. Dendy, and some other passengers, arrived here in the *Garland Grove;* before she came to anchor, she was hailed by a boat from the Blanche frigate, *Commodore Farquhar.* The officer from the boat went on board the *Garland Grove*, and asked Captain Pengelly for a list of passengers; after perusing it he went up to Mr. Burchell and told him he must accompany him

on board the *Blanche*, which Mr. B. accordingly did, though he knew not, nor could he ascertain the reason why. On Sabbath, Jan. 8th, we had a social prayer meeting at 11 o'clock, at which *four or five free persons* and the house servants were present. I state these particulars, as we were afterwards called to account for it. In the afternoon we were informed that Mr. Burchell's papers had been seized by the collector of H. M. customs, at the instance of the Custos. On the 9th, nothing occurred of any moment. On the morning of the 10th, Mr. Roby called, stating that our attendance was required at the Court-House, but for what purpose he knew not. He was kind enough to accompany us there, where, after waiting some time, Major Coates appeared and said, "he had reeeived information that Mr. Knibb had been *preaching* to a large congregation of slaves and others in a house at Jackson Town, which was not licensed, on the Sunday previous." Mr. K. stated that he had not preached—that we had merely held a prayer meeting at which five or six free persons, and the servants of the house, were present, and that he had read a printed sermon. We were then discharged, the complaint made against us being frivolous and vexatious. On the 11th and 12th, nothing of importance occurred as it regarded ourselves. Prisoners were constantly being brought in from the country, and reports as to the rebellion were of an unfavorable nature. On the morning of the 13th, Brother Gardner was brought into town, under a guard, from Savannah-la-Mar: a negro, called Philip, having made some deposition which appeared to implicate him in the rebellion. Mr. G. appeared before the Custos and stated his case, when he was liberated on £100 bail, to appear when called on to do so. Mr. Manderson became bail for him; and in the evening of the same day he came and took up his abode with us. Things went on quietly until the 18th January, when Mr. Burchell was trans-shipped from the *Blanche* frigate to the *Garland Grove*, after having been kept a *prisoner* on board the former vessel from the 7th to the 18th, *closely guarded* the greater part of the time, and allowed to go on deck but twice during this period, without knowing why he had been captured, and

without any charge being preferred against him. On the 19th we proposed going on board the *Garland Grove*, to see Brother B. and the friends, but Mr. Dendy came in the morning early and said it would be better for us to postpone our visit for a day or so. On the 20th, Mr. and Mrs. Whitehorne, and Mr. Gardner, went and spent the day on board the *Garland Grove*, and on the 21st Mr. Knibb and myself did so, and found all the friends well. On the 22d, our friend, Mr. Roby, called and said, he had that morning had an interview with Custos Barrett, who, when speaking of us and other Missionaries, had said (and requested him to make known his opinions to us) "that we should not be able to remain in the country, and that he would advise us to take our departure as soon as possible." This advice Mr. Roby enforced by many arguments. He said, "it would be for our own good, and the good of society *(Jamaica Society!)* if we were to go." We told him we were conscious of our innocence, and did not fear any judicial investigation—that we were sent here and supported by a large and respectable society in England, and had a duty to fulfil to them—that we had churches in the island looking to us for instruction, and we could not see that it was the path of duty to leave them." He then added, "Well, if you wish to become martyrs to public discord, you may." We replied, we did not wish to do so, but that we believed we had a commission from above to preach the gospel here, and could not, would not leave unless we were compelled to go. He then besought our wives to use their influence with us to get us off the island, which advice, they told him, they were very unwilling to comply with. He then left us saying, "Well, I do sincerely hope you will all go off." This gentleman, of whom you will hear much (and would hear more had he not requested u s to be silent on the subject) with all his kindness of disposition, which we highly appreciate, and his determination to obtain *justice* for us, as far as his influence extends, is prejudiced against all dissenters, and wishes us all off the island from a *conviction* "that *sectarianism* is *prejudicial* to the interests of *Church and State!*" We had our prayer meeting and a sermon

read this day as usual. Nothing of an important nature occurred from the 22d until the 30th, when Colonel Lawson (Militia) and another officer called on us, when the following conversation ensued—Col. "Is Mr. Gardner here?" Mr. G. came forward and said, "Yes, Sir, my name is Gardner." Col. "Is this your writing?" (producing a ticket) Mr. G. Yes, Sir, it is." Col. "Did you issue it?" Mr. G. "Yes, Sir, I did." Col. "Did you not know that martial law was proclaimed when you issued it?" Mr. G. "It was given before the proclamation of martial law, either on the 11th or 25th Dec." Col. "Then, Sir, it is antedated." Mr. G. "Yes, Sir, I can explain the reason of that; owing to the number of members, and Mr. Burchell's absence, it is impossible to give all out at once; therefore, we commence for the new year in December, and I doubt not that you will find many others." Col. "Have you preached since martial law?" Mr. G. "Yes, Sir." Col. "Where?" Mr. G. "At Savannah-la-Mar, publicly, and with the knowledge of the lawful authorities." Col. "Well, Sir, I tell you that your *functions have ceased.* Who are those of you who gave bail for £50 each?" Mr. Whitehorne said, "Myself, Messrs. Abbott and Knibb." Col. "Do you know, Sir, the situation in which you have placed yourselves by going on board the *Garland Grove*?" Mr. W. "No, Sir." Col. "Did you not know that Mr. Burchell was a prisoner?" Mr. W. "We did not know the terms on which he was so, and we went with the knowledge and approbation of our securities and Captain Pengelly." Col. "Who is Capt. Pengelly? have you read the articles of war?" Mr. W. "No, Sir." Col. "Then I tell you, Sir, that you are all liable to be *tried by a Court Martial* and SHOT! for holding conversation with a prisoner!! You have been OFF THE ISLAND, and have forfeited your recognizances." Mr. W. "We have not been off the island, Sir, and I tell you, as a lawyer, that we have not forfeited our recognizances, and they cannot be recovered by law." Col. to Mr. Gardner, "You must be aware, Sir, that *every man* in this island charges you with being the cause of this rebellion." Mr. G. "What me, Sir? I assure you my

motives, in the exercise of my ministry, have been of the purest kind." Col. "If you look around you, and see the devastations that have been produced by the slaves listening to your pernicious doctrines, if you had the feelings of men you would not be able again to hold up your heads." Mr. W. "We cannot admit, Sir, that our doctrines have been the cause of it." Col. "That God who is above you will be your Judge, and HE KNOWS that you are the cause of it." Mr. W. "We do appeal to him as our Judge, and are willing to leave our cause in his hands." Col. "I have called, as the Colonel commanding this district, to put you on your guard, and, if I hear of your going on board the *Garland Grove* again, I shall consider it my duty to put a *sentinel at that door!* and I recommend you to be very cautious in your conduct." Mr. W. "We have been cautious in our conduct, and shall not think of going on board. We were very sorry to hear that Capt. Pengelly had been reproved on our account, and at once determined not to repeat the visit. We are old acquaintances of Mr. Burchell, and wished to see him after his long absence."

This Colonel Lawson is a *magistrate*, and you and every good man must feel pity for such a character, who being vested with temporary power could use such threats towards men against whom he could not produce a single charge, or imagine that the pure and peaceable doctrines of the gospel had produced such direful effects.

On February 5th, martial law was taken off, and we were then cheered by the hope that we should soon be released from our recognizances, and permitted to return to our respective homes—to see our people, and to procure evidence for the purpose of establishing our innocence; but we had more trials awaiting us. On the 7th it was currently reported that a mob was being formed for the destruction of Mr. Burchell's chapel, and on the 8th, as Mr. Knibb and myself were walking in the town, we were met by a Mr. Lewin, a gentleman who has to this day advocated our cause and defended our persons, about 10 A.M., who said, apparently in a state of great excitation, "They are now collecting persons to pull down Mr. B.'s chapel,

therefore take my advice, and go home directly." We followed his advice. He went and immediately informed our friend, Mr. Roby, of the circumstance, who went and gave the information to the *Custos*, in the presence of *Colonel Lawson*. The Custos said "he could not act, unless a deposition were made on *oath*. That the *civil* and *military* powers were at the Court-House close by, and he (the Custos) did not think there was any danger." Colonel Lawson told Mr. Roby that he was *libelling* the community, as no such thing was intended. I may remark here that when the chapel was being destroyed *Colonel Lawson* was not to *be found*, nor could any *magistrate* be prevailed on to use his influence to disperse the rioters. By 2 o'clock P.M., the same day, the chapel was razed to the ground. Between 12 and 2 o'clock we were credibly informed that the *white* mob, after having demolished the chapel, intended coming to this place to pull the house down about our ears; and, from some statements subsequently communicated to us, we had great reason to fear that our lives were in danger. Mr. C. (a magistrate) said to Mr. M., a friend of ours, on the morning of that day, who afterwards informed us of it, and afforded us *shelter and protection*, "That he would not be in one of those Missionaries' skins to night on any account; and Joseph B., a magistrate, who afterwards sent out a warrant against Mr. Burchell, said, "That any person who afforded the Missionaries shelter that night should have their house pulled down about their ears." This, my dear Sir, is not *hearsay*. We have evidence to prove the truth of all these statements, and also to prove that both *magistrates* and *militia officers* were *actively* engaged in the destruction of our chapels. Mr. M., who heard both these threats, directly, in the most generous and kind manner, requested us to make *his house* our home. We accepted his offer, and went, accompanied by our very kind friends, Messrs. Roby and Lewin, who guarded us with loaded pistols. On arriving there we consulted what, under such circumstances, would be the most wise and prudent steps for us to take—it was considered unsafe for us to remain on shore during the night, having heard, after our arrival at Mr.

M.'s, that the mob had come on the road leading to the house we had left, armed with bludgeons, &c., but, finding we had left it, returned again to the town. Mr. R. very kindly volunteered his services to go on board some of the vessels in the harbour, and try to procure us a shelter for the night. He returned about 6 P.M., stating that he had been on board the *Christian*, of Glasgow, and the *Carshalton Park*, of London, but the captains of both these vessels said, "They *were afraid* to take us, depending, as they did, upon the people on shore for their cargo; and the captain of the former vessel advised Mr. R. to ask for protection for us from the *American* captains then in port." This Mr. R. declared "he would never do, so long as a British flag was flying in the harbour." He then went on board H. M. S. North Star, Captain Trefusis, who appeared *unwilling* to take us, but said, "that if we were in danger he was *bound* to afford protection to any of His Majesty's subjects." This reception, cool as it was, we were glad to meet with under present circumstances, and we proceeded with our wives, excepting Mrs. Knibb, who remained at Mr. M.'s, her child being sick, guarded through the town by our friends, R. and L., and went on board the *North Star* in Mr. R.'s boat. We were civilly received and kindly treated by the lieutenant and junior officers, but the captain did not make his appearance, and his whole conduct was not such as you would expect from a British officer. The junior officers had hammocks swung for us on the main deck, to which we cheerfully and gratefully retired. On the morning of the 9th, the captain sent an official letter to the Custos, requiring him to afford us protection when we went ashore, and sent a message to us, requesting us to await his (the Custos') reply. Mr. R., who had come on board in the morning early, then took our wives on shore, and returned to us, after having done so. When the Custos' reply arrived, it being of a favorable nature, we prepared to go ashore, but Mr. Whitehorne and myself having obtained leave from the Custos to go on board the *Garland Grove*, and see Mr. Burchell (Mr. Gardner not being allowed to do so) we spent the day on board with Mr. B. and the friends, and

went on shore about 4 P. M., finding the town much quieter than we had anticipated. During this day a set of low fellows had *hung Mr. R. in effigy!* bearing this inscription, "*The Baptist's Friend.*" About an hour after we had been ashore Mr. M. called on us with the pleasing intelligence that Brethren Burchell, Whitehorne, and myself were released from bail, producing our discharge, of which the following is a copy:—

Montego Bay, Feb. 9, 1832.

My dear Sir,

Having examined the evidence against the Missionaries of the Baptist persuasion, in whose behalf you have interested yourself very humanely, I have to inform you that there is no evidence in my possession that implicates Mr. Abbott and Mr. Whitehorne, and no legal evidence implicating Mr. Burchell; these persons must therefore be discharged from their bail. And,

I am, my dear Sir,
Your faithful and obedient servant,
(Signed) Richard Barrett, Custos.

To John Manderson, Esq.

He, Mr. M., informed us at the same time that Messrs. Knibb and Gardner were still under their recognizances.

On the morning of the 10th Mr. R. and Captain Pengelly called, when the latter gave us a sight of an official document he had received from the Custos, discharging Mr. Burchell, of which the following is a copy:—

Montego Bay, Feb. 10, 1832.

Sir,

You are hereby authorised to release from detention the person of Mr. Burchell.

(Signed) Richard Barrett, Custos.

To Captain Pengelly,
Ship Garland Grove.

A consultation then took place, when it was considered advisable by Mr. R., Capt. P., and the Missionary brethren, that Mr. B. should leave the island immediately—that he would not be eluding justice, having received his discharge; and, in the present excited state of the country, it would not be safe for him to land, several persons having used expressions which gave us reason to believe his life was in danger, and it was then decided that he should go in an American vessel, about to sail in a day or two.

On the morning of the 11th a report reached us, which was subsequently confirmed by good authority, that several persons, having heard that Mr. B. was about to leave the island, had got up a petition to the Custos, requesting him to prevent Mr. B. from leaving; this, the Custos said, he could not do, and in this extremity a free coloured man, named Samuel Stennett, was procured (by *bribery*, which has since been proved) who made the following deposition on oath:

(COPY.)

"That this deponent was present, and heard Mr. Burchell tell him, and other leaders of the Baptist Society, to go among the Negroes in the country, and tell them that freedom was theirs—that they, the Negroes, must fight and pray for it, and they will get it; and he has also heard parson Gardner say the same."

Mr. Gardner was accordingly sent for from the Court-House, whither Mr. Burchell had arrived before him, when *both* were on *this* statement committed to the common gaol to take their trial at the ensuing Cornwall assizes. On our hearing that Mr. B. was to be brought on shore, we and our friends were apprehensive that he would be insulted, and perhaps murdered; but were subsequently informed that on his landing at the wharf one *white* man commenced hissing, but the *coloured* inhabitants (to their honor be it spoken) indiscriminately rallied round him, and formed an impenetrable barrier to his numerous foes. Thus escorted he reached the Court-House in safety, and thus, after his commitment, was he conducted to the prison. We then

joined in lifting up our hearts to God for our more oppressed and suffering brethren.

On the 13th of February Miss Dickson, one of our free members at Lucea, came up to see us, and stated that our house had been entered, and goods plundered, and our chapel razed to the ground, principally by white persons headed by one *Dr. Burns*. Our friends in England have indeed reason to be thankful that they are *protected* by British laws: *here* they are merely a cloak for every species of iniquity. Some of the heads of the parish were engaged in destroying my chapel and plundering my dwelling-house. I have depositions to prove this, but shall refrain from sending them at present, hoping we shall succeed in bringing the perpetrators of these acts of violence to justice in this country. Our friends in England will be able to form an opinion of the protection afforded to Missionaries in Jamaica in the nineteenth century, when they are informed that, during these scenes of violence and outrage upon our property, magistrates were *called upon*, but refused to exert the authority with which they were vested for its preservation. And let it be sounded throughout all England—yea, let it be handed down to posterity, that *Mr. Heath*, *Rector* of the parish of Hanover, was the man who *aided and assisted* in collecting the mob—who was *present* with them, and who *gloried* in the *destruction* of a house consecrated to the service of Almighty God. This day, Feb. 13th, Mrs. A. left for Lucea, to try and save our books, clothes, &c., from being destroyed, which she eventually succeeded in doing, with the exception of some of my best books, which had been stolen, and which I have not since heard of. The Governor being on the Bay at this time, we thought it our duty to memorialize him respecting the demolition of our chapels, &c. The following is a copy of the memorial sent to him on the evening of the 13th of February:—

To His Excellency the Governor.

The Humble Memorial of several Baptist Missionaries,

Sheweth, That your memorialists, and others, the Missionaries of the Baptist persuasion in this island, have been charged with

being instrumental in producing and promoting the dreadful insurrection that has recently taken place.

That each of your memorialists for himself solemnly avers that he has never intentionally, by word or deed, directly or indirectly, been instrumental or accessary in the promotion of the unhappy disturbances, nor has he intentionally led the slaves or any others to think that freedom was theirs, or to draw any of those numerous other erroneous conclusions which report informs your memorialists they have assigned as the causes of their violent conduct; but that your memorialists have, on the contrary, most heartily deplored and condemned the proceedings of the slaves from the commencement, not only on account of the ruinous consequences to both masters and slaves, but also of the disgrace they are calculated to bring upon the Christian religion, which many who appear to be engaged in it have professed; and moreover your memorialists are firmly persuaded, from the knowledge they have of each other, and of their brother Missionaries, that they are all equally innocent in intention. And they have many reasons for hoping that they are not justly liable to the charge of being even the unintentional causes or promoters of the revolt.

That your memorialists have hitherto refrained from approaching your Excellency, and from coming forward in any public manner to defend themselves, because they have been expecting to be brought to trial, when they should have an opportunity of vindicating themselves from the monstrous iniquities with which they stand charged; but, in the event of a trial not taking place, their intention was, on regaining their liberty, to lay before the public such a defence of themselves, and such testimony in their favor, as would be calculated to remove the unfavorable impression that has been produced by the ex-parte statements now abroad.

That your memorialists do not fear the result of a fair and impartial investigation into their conduct and principles, as Christians and Missionaries. Their consciousness of innocence has enabled them to bear with composure the abridgment of their liberties, the opprobrium heaped upon their characters,

and the insults offered to their persons, and has induced them to reject, so long as there existed the probability of a trial, the recommendation, strongly urged on them by several most respectable gentlemen, to quit the island, although they were told, and had every reason to believe, permission would be readily granted them by the competent authorities.

That it was only on receiving a discharge in writing from the Hon. R. Barrett, and his declaration "that there was no legal evidence implicating him," that your memorialist, Thomas Burchell, determined to quit the island, which he was about to do at the time he was committed to prison.

That your memorialists have been condemned by the public without a hearing, on evidence which your memorialists have never been made acquainted with, and on the testimony of witnesses whom your memorialists, or any person on their behalf, had not an opportunity of hearing, or cross-examining: that their persons have been threatened with violence, and they were obliged to flee for protection on board H.M.S. *North Star*: that some of their dwellings have been entered, and their clothes, furniture, and other property have been destroyed or plundered: that several of their chapels have been totally demolished, under the countenance and with the aid of magistrates and officers in the militia. And your memorialists expect that many, if not all the rest, will share the same fate, unless prevented by the interposition of your Excellency.

That most of the places so destroyed, as well as those which still remain, are the property of a large body of Protestant Dissenters in Great Britain, denominated the "Baptist Missionary Society," against whom no charge can reasonably exist of having excited the slaves to rebellion.

That your memorialists are British subjects, devotedly attached to their gracious Sovereign and his Government, and they humbly and respectfully submit to your Excellency that they are entitled to protection from the outrages with which they are still threatened. Your memorialists therefore trust that your Excellency will take such steps for the preservation of the remaining places of worship, residences, and property in which your

memorialists are interested, and for the security of your memorialists' persons, and afford such further relief as to your Excellency shall seem meet.

And your memorialists shall ever pray, &c.

(Signed) Wm. Knibb,
Wm. Whitehorne,
Thos. F. Abbott,
Thos. Burchell,
Francis Gardner.

On the evening of the 14th we received the following reply, with a Proclamation enclosed:—

Montego Bay, Feb. 14, 1832.

Sir,

I am commanded by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of a Petition, signed by yourself and other Missionaries of the Baptist persuasion. His Excellency the Governor had anticipated the wish expressed in that Petition, having, previously to the receipt of it, issued a Proclamation, of which I enclose a copy, and the same has been promulgated throughout the island.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

(Signed) W. G. Nunes.

To Mr. W. Knibb.

The Proclamation, of which the following is a copy, was issued at this place, after we had sent our memorial, and a few hours previously to the receipt of the Governor's reply.

(Copy of the Proclamation.)

By his Excellency the Earl of Belmore, &c. &c.

Whereas I have received information that several chapels and places of worship belonging to the sect called Baptists, situated in the towns of Falmouth, Montego Bay, Lucea, and Savannah-la-Mar, have been wantonly and illegally destroyed

by riotous assemblages of people ; and whereas such proceedings are disgraceful to the Colony, subversive of order, and of dangerous example ; I do hereby call on all Custodes of parishes, and all magistrates, to seek out and discover the authors of these outrages, that they may be punished according to law.

And I also require and enjoin the said Custodes and magistrates to employ the whole force which the Constitution has entrusted to them, in protecting property of every description, whether belonging to private persons or religious societies, in quelling all disorderly meetings, and in bringing to exemplary punishment every disturber of the public peace.

Given, &c., at Montego Bay, the 13th day of Feb. 1832.

(Signed) BELMORE.

In reference to this proclamation it need only be remarked that the copies were torn from the walls as soon as pasted, nor have I ever seen *one* in any direction from that day to this—the *persons* called on by the Governor to protect our property, and to bring the perpetrators of all this violence to punishment, were in this place *very many of them most actively engaged*, so that but little probability exists of their being brought to the punishment they so richly merit. On the evening of this day Mr. Knibb was released from Bail, though some persons had unsuccessfully attempted to get up some charge against him. I may here give you, my dear Sir, a few specimens of the base means resorted to by the *great men*, in eliciting evidence from slaves and others, for the purpose of criminating your Missionaries ; we are not authorised to use the names of those persons who have furnished us with the following statements, though, if *necessary*, we can get them substantiated *on oath !* A free member of Mr. B's church was charged with having received letters from Mr. B. She was taken up and examined, when the following threats were made use of to induce her to implicate Mr. B. by a *Magistrate*. "Now we have *good proof* that you *did* receive them (letters) ; now tell us the *truth* ; if you *don't* there is a boat ready to ship you off." She replied, "I cannot tell a *lie* upon myself or Mr. B. I never did receive any letters." Magistrate. "Now, my good woman, I won't send for a Constable to take you to

the Court-House, but I will carry you myself, so you *had better tell the truth.*" He then took her to the Court-House, and put her on *hand cuffs*, among 100 or more Negroes, where she remained from 2 P.M. until the next day, when a Lieut. Colonel (Militia) came and said, "Have you not letters from Mr. B?" Woman, "No." Col. "Are you not a *Baptist?*" Woman, "Yes!" Col. "You see the *gallows* out there! (pointing to it), if they were to hang up Mr. B. and yourself, how you would *holloa!* they must let down Mr. B. and hang yourself." Much more followed of the same nature, when Mr. M. examined her, and finding nothing against her she was discharged. Again, Mr.—— was present when one of the Militia officers held his *sword over a negro's head*, and pointing to the gallows said, "If you do not tell me something about the Baptist parsons, you shall *be hung up there.*" Mr. L. told us that after the committal of Mr. B. a gentleman said to him, "that he *feared* the evidence against Mr. B. would not be sufficient to *condemn* him, and, were they to *acquit* him, it would be the worst thing they could do for the colony;" and Mr. L. added, that as such was the case they would move earth and hell to procure *more* evidence against him. Other cases occurred at Lucea; a free coloured man was present when Dr. —— took a Negro man prisoner and interrogated him in this manner. Dr. "Did not Mr. Burchell *tell you* to *rebel?* Negro, "No Sir!" Dr. "Tell me the truth, tell me that Mr. B. *did tell* you to do so, or I'll BLOW YOUR BRAINS OUT" (at the same time presenting *a pistol at his head*); the Negro at last, doubtless fearing that Dr. —— would put his diabolical threat into execution, said "Ah, for true massa, me forget, the night before Mr. B. go away, him tell me simting tan so;" this of course was sufficient to inculpate Mr. Burchell. Miss R. was present when the supervisor of the workhouse at Lucea was superintending the flogging of a rebel Negro. The driver gave three lashes, when the supervisor cried out, "*What, no blood yet?* tell me, you rascal, did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" Negro, "No massa, *I don't know* Mr. Burchell, *I never see him.*" Supervisor, "Tell me, did not that bloody villain Burchell tell you to do it?" These, and similar questions, were put

to the poor unfortunate creature while he was being flogged; but he persisted to the last that he did not know Mr. B. and *never* saw him. This is the kind of evidence by which we are judged, and by this we are condemned; though it frequently happens, as in the last case, that all their vile attempts are ineffectual, and do not even by *such* means procure a shadow of evidence against us.

On the morning of the 15th, I received a letter from Mrs. A. dated Lucea, Feb. 14th, in which she stated that the spirit of hatred and prejudice was at Lucea greater, if possible, than at Montego Bay; the following is extracted from her letter of that date. "Do not on any account come down here; every one says you would be in very great danger. Mr. A. C. (a friend of ours), says you positively must not. Many have *sworn* to *mob*, and if possible *murder* you; once more let me entreat of you not to come." The above remarks were made by Mrs. A. in consequence of my having signified my intention to go down for the purpose of procuring evidence to establish my innocence of the charges laid against me, in common with all my brethren. These threats have hitherto prevented me from going down for that purpose; and I do not believe I should be safe *there*. My security *here* lies principally in my not being known, and Mr. Burchell being the object on whom popular vengeance rests, more particularly in this town.

On the 20th Feb. Mrs. A. returned from Lucea, and gave me a most appalling account of the state of things at that place—of the demolition of the chapel—and the depredations committed on my private property. She had an interview with the Custos, who promised to investigate into the matter, and bring the authors of it to punishment; *but nothing has been done.* He, the Custos, told her, "That he could not tell why they had acted so shamefully towards me, as he had not *once* heard my name called by any of the rebels." This only confirms my belief in the opinion that they are glad to embrace an opportunity of manifesting their malevolent dispositions, and their long cherished enmity to religion and its professors. On the evening of the 21st we were informed that the man Samuel Stennett, who had

given evidence against Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, had confessed that he had been BRIBED to do so. And on the morning of the 22nd we had a special Prayer Meeting to return thanks to our Heavenly Father, and to implore his council and protection for the future. O! my dear Sir, what reasons had we then for "calling upon our souls and all that was within us to bless and praise his Holy Name!" Amidst all our trials and difficulties that promise has been fulfilled, "As thy day is thy strength shall be," and even now we can truly say, "Hitherto the Lord our God hath helped us." When the floods of tribulation and distress were about to overwhelm us, when "the wicked were spreading as a green bay tree," and (thirsting for the blood of the children of the most High) made use of every device and stratagem which the enemy of souls could suggest to destroy them, then it was that we especially beheld, and beholding admired, the wonderful workings of Divine Providence in raising up agents, even in this land of moral darkness and wretchedness, to defend our cause, to succour and protect us from the rancour and vengeance of our unjust and persecuting foes; and, when testimony was made up by an individual which affected the lives of the servants of God, He, in the plenitude of his goodness and mercy, made that man to writhe under "the stings and arrows of a guilty conscience," and the weight of his sin, greater than he could bear; surely we may say of God "He maketh the wrath of man to praise him," &c. On the morning of the 23rd Mr. Murray (Wesleyan Minister) informed me that when he was at Lucea, the day previous, he was present at the Court-House when some rebels were being tired; the witness was asked from the Bench whether he was a Baptist, to which he replied, "Yes." He was then asked if he had ever heard his ministers say "that they were to be free after Christmas?" to which he replied, "That he had *never* heard them say *any thing* about it!" But Mr. Murray added that, from what he heard while there, he had reason to believe that my *life would be in danger* if I went down; and that Green Island Chapel had been totally demolished. On the 24th, the man Samuel Stennett, who had sworn falsely against Messrs. B. and G., and on whose testimony they

had been committed to gaol, made the following recantation, in the presence of Messrs. J. Manderson and T. Reaburn, which he declared he was willing to confirm on oath.

(COPY.)

Jamaica,

Personally appeared before me Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist Missionaries, T. Burchell, and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in gaol, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he, the deponent, hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George Mc. Farquhar Lawson Jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. This deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said Missionaries, and that he never joined the Baptist Society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God.

Joseph Bowen, one of the above named gentlemen, is a *Magistrate*, the *very individual* who issued a warrant for the *apprehension* of Mr. Burchell, *one* of the two who *sat* at the time he was brought into the Justice Hall, and joined in *committing* him, one of those actively engaged in the *white rebellion!* and the individual who said, the day on which the chapel here was destroyed, "that any man who afforded shelter to the Missionaries that night should have his house pulled about his ears." In consequence of the man Stennett's declaration, he was called upon to appear before the sitting Magistrates, and was asked by one of them if he was willing to swear to the statement which he had made, to which he replied, "Yes." One of the Magistrates then said, "Take care what you are about; you will be sent to the pillory if you swear to that state-

ment, and much more to the same effect. He (S. Stennett) then said, "I do not care;" and turning to some of those who he declared had bribed him, and who were present, abruptly said, "You *know* you did tell me to do so." He was not however allowed to swear to the deposition; when Messrs. Manderson and Reaburn sent in their affidavits on oath to the Magistrates, that they had *heard* him say that he had been bribed by the above named gentlemen, on which he was committed to gaol. Mr. Manderson proposed on the following morning to the Magistrates, that Messrs. B. and G. should be liberated on bail; but the proposition was not acceded to, although the man on whose sole testimony they were committed had thus publicly contradicted his own statement. We then thought it advisable that B. and G. should memorialize the Governor. A memorial was accordingly drawn up, of which the following is a copy,

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

The Humble Memorial of Thomas Burchell, and Francis Gardner, Baptist Missionaries.

Sheweth, That your memorialists, together with several other Missionaries, recently laid before your excellency a memorial stating their situation at the town of Montego Bay, and they crave your excellency's attention to the following additional circumstances. On the 10th instant your memorialist Thomas Burchell received from the Custos of the parish his liberation from imprisonment on board the ship *Garland Grove;* when in consequence of the demolition of the chapel on the Bay, and the destruction of all the mission and his own private property, as also of information received from most respectable authority of a plot having been entered into against his life by certain of the inhabitants, he resolved on leaving the island by an American vessel which was to sail in a day or two. On Saturday morning, the 11th instant, a requisition was sent to the Custos for his interference to prevent your memorialist's departure; this not succeeding, a warrant was issued against him by Joseph

Bowen, Esq. founded upon the deposition of a free person of colour, named Samuel Stennett, who stated "that Mr. Burchell had said to him, and other leaders of the Baptist Society, to go among the Negroes in the country, and tell them that freedom was theirs, and that they must fight and pray for it, and they will get it; and, further, that he had heard parson Gardner say the same." The deponent Samuel Stennett had been in gaol on suspicion of having been concerned in the late rebellion, and had been discharged several days before your memorialist, Thomas Burchell, had any thought of leaving the island, still no deposition against him was made until the failure of the requisition to the Custos to prevent his departure. On the warrant being served on your memorialist, Thomas Burchell, the head constable stated to him "that that warrant would not have been issued against him, but for his intention to leave the island." On the aforesaid deposition your memorialists, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, were fully committed to the common gaol, to take their trial at the ensuing assize court. Since that period the said Samuel Stennett has stated to several persons, among others to J. Manderson and T. Reaburn Esqs. (whose depositions to the fact have been laid before the Magistrates), "That the affidavit made by him against your memorialists was false and unjust, that he never heard from them such facts as he had sworn against them, that he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George Mc. Farquhar Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and Wm. C. Morris; the first of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. That he was induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knows nothing against the said Missionaries; and that he never joined the Baptist Society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country." Your memorialists still remain in custody, although the person on whose sole testimony they were committed has thus publicly contradicted his own deposition.

They, therefore, humbly pray that your excellency will give directions for their being released from prison on bail, or other-

wise, or grant sueh other relief as to your excelleney shall seem meet. And your memorialists shall ever pray, &e.

(Signed) THOMAS BURCHELL,
FRANCIS GARDNER.

Dated Feb. 25, 1832.

The above was forwarded to the Governor by Mr. M., on the evening of the 25th of February, and on Monday, March 5th, a message was received by the magistracy respecting Messrs. B. and G. (we understand ordering their release). On Tuesday, Mareh 6th, a meeting of the magistracy took place, when they resolved *not* to liberate them, for what *reasons* we know not.

On the evening of the 27th February Brother Knibb read a letter from S. M. Barrett, Esq., a large landed proprietor, and brother to E. Barrett, Esq., proprietor of Oxford and Cambridge, on which estate Mr. K. has a great number of members. I will here insert a copy of the same, as it tends greatly to exeulpate us from the foul charges so unjustly laid against us.

Cornwall, St. James, February 23, 1832.

Dear Sir,

I avail myself of the return of your messenger to Montego Bay to express to you the sincere pleasure I feel in hearing of your release from the restraint whieh had been imposed upon you and your brethren. I can assure you that I never did from the beginning, nor do I at this time, attribute to yourself, or to Mr. Burehell, any blame as direetly produeing or promoting the late melancholy disturbances. Having this feeling, I deeply regret that the feelings of the country should so strongly mark yourself and the other Baptist Missionaries out as objects of persecution. My opinion, an opinion resulting from my own frequent and confidential intereourse, not only with my own Negroes, but with the Negroes of various other estates, is, that religion had nothing to do with the late disturbances, but, on the contrary, its absence was a chief cause of them. No people could have eonducted themselves better than all the Negroes upon Cambridge and Oxford estates, and in like manner the

people upon Retreat Pen. Even at the period when the prejudice ran strongest against you, and when it was scarcely politic for a Negro to say any thing in your favor, I have upon every occasion, when I have enquired of the members of your congregation, upon any of my properties, whether *you had ever taught them to expect freedom*, the answers have invariably been such as to convince me the charges against you were ill-founded. In the absence of all proof to criminate any one in particular, or any class of persons, professional or otherwise, I would not uncharitably suspect any one, or venture to assign any cause for so great an evil as it has pleased Providence to afflict us with. I should have deeply deplored, for the sake of religion, had any of its ministers so far perverted the truth of the gospel as to induce the shedding of blood. I do therefore most sincerely rejoice that you stand exonerated of all guilt as connected with the late disturbances, so far as any proof has as yet been adduced.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S. M. Barrett.

To Rev. W. Knibb.

On the 28th of February, Mr. L., a friend of ours, received a letter of a similar nature from a gentleman in Savannah-la-mar, from which I have extracted the following remarks :—" Miss M. B. S., in answer to my question, positively declares that the Rev. Mr. Gardner never, either at public or private meetings, preached or said any thing of freedom ; if he had she must have known it (she is a member of the church) ; that he repeatedly enjoined and commanded the slave portion of his congregation to be obedient to their owners and attentive to their business, for it was their duty as Christians to do so." He then says, the statements of *many* other members of the church go to confirm this, and adds, " I have examined all of them apart, and consider their evidence material even in a court of justice, as it would tend to show that Mr. Gardner never talked of freedom, and must therefore be innocent of the

charge of having instigated the slaves to acts of rebellion." Again, "Mr. Thomas told my brother that when he asked two rebels, named *Gardner* and *Dove*, whether any minister told them to do what they had done, Gardner replied that no minister had told him to do so; his minister told him to do good, and do no harm, and had he taken his advice he would not even have complained when *sick!* (This man was a member of Montego Bay Church). My brother also says that a prisoner named Granville, a slave to Success estate in Hanover, on being questioned by him, said, "his ministers, Mr. Burchell and Mr. Abbott, never told him to rebel; on the contrary, they told him to do good." (This man was a member of Gurney's Mount Church). This gentleman thus concludes this letter, "I need not say my brother will readily attend if it be deemed necessary to prove these circumstances before a court; he and myself have been frequent auditors of Mr. Gardner, and can with much truth speak favorably of him."

From the above statement you will perceive that some few of those who have called themselves Christians have been engaged in this horrible transaction. Yes, my dear sir, it is a melancholy fact that such is the case; but they one and all of them acquit us (as they must if they adhere to truth) of any participation in their guilt. Could we have an opportunity of seeing our people, we could furnish you with an abundance of evidence, from both free and slave, that we never have introduced the subject of freedom at any of our public or private meetings. I have been particularly cautious on this subject, knowing it to be a dangerous one, situated as Jamiaca is, and I have no doubt each of my brethren has been equally so; and I am convinced that, when such proofs as we shall produce are laid before you and the British public, both you and they will pronounce us innocent. One of the most constant attendants at Gurney's Mount, and one of the most wealthy, called on me the other day and gave me the following statement, which I here insert for your information.

(COPY.)

Jamaica.—I, Thomas J. Thelwill, of the parish of Hanover, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, jobber, do hereby declare that I have been a constant attendant at the Baptist Chapel, called Gurney's Mount, alias Shepherd's Hall, in the aforesaid parish; that I have never been absent more than once during the time that Mr. Abbott, Baptist Missionary, has officiated there, and conducted divine worship; that I have never heard him tell the slaves that they were entitled to their freedom, or that they were to be free, or make use of any expression, either in his public preaching or private conversation, calculated to sow discontent in the minds of the slaves, or to excite them to rebellion; that the only slave belonging to me *who joined the rebels* is *not* connected with the aforesaid or any other *Baptist Church;* and that the *whole* of my slaves (32) who are in any way connected with any Baptist Church have been *faithful and obedient to me,* and have used their exertions for the *protection* of my property, during the whole of the late melancholy and destructive rebellion; and further that I am willing to depose on oath to the truth of the above statement:—

(Signed) THOMAS J. THELWILL.

Montego Bay, St. James's, March 7, 1832.

Mr. Thelwill also informed me that one of our members at Lucea, named George Brissett, had been *armed* by the regiment, that he and his fellow Negroes had nobly defended their master's property (*Georgia*), in which estate there are more than 100 persons connected with Lucea Church. I cannot *now* furnish you with the exact numbers, the *Rector* of Lucea having gone to my house during the existence of martial law, and *taken possession* of my church books, which I have not yet been able to obtain. But of this I am certain, that *not one* estate on which we have persons connected with the church at Lucea has been *burnt,* and I have received information that our people there in *every* instance defended the property to which they were attached, that they *never* refused to work, and have

used their exertions in detecting and making prisoners those incendiaries from other parishes who endeavoured to delude them. I do not attribute this favorable circumstance to any extra exertions on my part; for I used none: how could I? When I assure you, my dear Sir, that when I left Hanover, on December 26th, I knew not that any dissatisfaction existed in the minds of the slaves, nor had I the most distant idea that the Negroes in this parish, and in some parts of other parishes, intended refusing to work, much less that a rebellion so dreadful and destructive was about to burst upon our heads; but I attribute this favorable circumstance to the simple fact (which has since been confessed by the rebels) that the plot was formed at Montego Bay, and that a similar one, or an auxiliary to it, had not been formed at Lucea. But I will pass on to make a few extracts from my journal. On Saturday, March 3d, the following Advertisement appeared in the Cornwall Chronicle, published in this town.

(COPY.)

Montego Bay, March 2, 1832.

In consequence of a requisition addressed to me, as senior magistrate, very numerously and respectably signed, requesting me to call a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of this parish, for the purpose of expressing their *determination* to prevent hereafter the re-introduction of the Baptist sect into this parish, and to recommend our representatives to use their exertions in the Honorable House of Assembly to expel them from the island, I do hereby convene the said meeting at the Court-House in this town, at six o'clock on Monday next, the 5th instant.

(Signed) THOS. JOS. GREY, S.M.

In the absence of any evidence whatever whereby they might implicate the Missionaries, these are the illegal means resorted to by men in authority for the purpose of persecuting, and, if possible, deporting them from the island.

On Monday, the 5th, pursuant to advertisement, the said

meeting was convened, when a few resolutions, expressive of their abhorrence of religion and its propagators, were proposed and carried, and the following remarks, among many others of an equally inflammatory and violent nature, were made :—*Mr. Grignon* said, in reference to the destruction of the Baptist chapel, that "he regretted he was not present at the time, as he would have joined heart and hand with his fellow parishioners in destroying it." *Mr. Coates, a magistrate*, then spoke to the following effect: "That they (the meeting) must get rid of the Baptists; that they must petition the Hon. House of Assembly; and, if petitioning would not do, they must use other measures for expelling them—that *the voice of the people was above any law*—that they must make laws of their own—that they would not be at rest until all the Baptists were sent off the island, &c. He then added, in allusion to the Wesleyans, that he thought they would not be allowed to preach—that Mr. Murray, the minister, ought to be informed of it—that it would be at *the risk of his life if he did so*—that if he attempted it he would be *murdered!*" A Mr. A. B. then proposed "that the Methodists should be expelled also;" but Mr. G. stated "that if they wished to expel the Methodists they must call another meeting, as that meeting was called expressly for the Baptists." Our informants, who were present, are ready to depose on oath to the effect of the above, and, in consequence of the remarks made in reference to Mr. Murray, *by a magistrate too*, he informed us on the 6th that he was afraid of the consequences that might ensue, were he to attempt to preach, and that he should represent his case immediately to the Governor.

On Saturday, March 10, Mr. Forsyth (attorney at law for the brethren) saw the Clerk of the Crown, who told him that it was the intention of the Attorney-General to send in bills to the grand jury against Brethren Burchell and Gardner; and yesterday, 12th, the Cornwall assize court commenced, when Chief Justice Tuckett, in a lengthened address to the grand jury, called upon them to remember the solemn obligation to dispense justice, and warned them not to be influenced in their decisions by the prejudice that existed against the Mis-

sionaries, &c. Notices were given by the crown clerk that bills would be sent to them severally, Rex *versus* Burchell, Gardner, and *Knibb*. We were astonished at hearing that brother Knibb was included among the number, as he was quite at liberty, and the Custos had declared that the evidence against him was not sufficient to institute a criminal prosecution. This day, Tuesday, March 13th, a true bill was found against Mr. Gardner and Mr. Knibb, and the man, Samuel Stennett, on whose evidence alone Mr. Burchell had been committed, appeared before the grand jury, and *made oath* that he was *bribed* to do so; consequently his evidence cannot be received: he (Samuel Stennett) is to be indicted for *perjury* by the *magistracy*, TWO OF WHOM he swears *bribed* him to be guilty of it. Comments on this would be superfluous.

I shall keep this letter open until Friday, and send it by the express post, that I may be able to give you the latest information. You will, doubtless, very naturally inquire,—What have been the *causes* of the late melancholy rebellion? But, as you are in some measure conversant with colonial suffering and cruelty, that question may be easily solved. The House of Assembly have appointed a committee from their own body to examine into the causes; the *majority* of whom have ever been most bitter against us, and *some* of whom have not hesitated *publicly* to declare, before the enquiry was set on foot, that they were sure sectarians were that cause. Their decisions as a body, then, may be easily anticipated; but it will appear eventually, when reason resumes her wonted place, that sectarians have not been the cause, and that our enemies have only embraced this opportunity of venting upon our unprotected heads the venom so long rankling in their unprincipled, unfeeling hearts. The true cause will appear to be this—the slaves have become enlightened, they have learnt to read, they have read the daily papers, and have, in consequence, read the reports of speeches made at the "*Meetings of Delegates*," held in this island last year, in which their masters declare that they will not be dictated to by the mother government, and that they would spill the last drop of their blood before the slaves should

be free. Such sentiments as these (we have reason to believe from the confessions of many slaves) induced them to think that freedom was sent out to them by the king, but their masters kept it from them; and, though we must all deplore the *means* adopted by them for obtaining it, there is not a doubt but a desire to be free, and that desire alone, was the cause of their adopting them. But you will ask also, "Why are there more Baptists concerned than Wesleyans?" the answer is simply this—In this parish (the seat of the rebellion) there are 1100 Wesleyans, and more than 5000 Baptists; the inference must be obvious.

But should you ask "Why were *any* Baptists engaged?" We can only mourn over the fact that our long cherished hopes respecting them have been blasted; though let it be remembered that a very small *proportion* of Baptists have been actually engaged; the far greater portion of the rebels were of no religion whatever; and this will more evidently appear when we have an opportunity of furnishing you with a numerical statement.

On Wednesday, March 14th, Mr. Burchell was released from gaol, the grand jury having ignored the bill for want of evidence; and he proceeded to lodgings about three o'clock P.M. At about eight in the evening a mob collected at Mr. B.'s lodgings, composed of white persons, who vowed they would tar and feather, or, in other words, *murder* Mr. B. This was prevented by the noble exertions of the coloured inhabitants, and the interference of Chief Justice Tuckett, who happened to be near the spot. The *local* authorities did not use any endeavours to prevent the *effusion of blood.* At the request of the Chief Justice Mr. B. then went on board the ship *Ariadne* for the night; and, on the advice of the Chief Justice, Mr. and Mrs. B. sailed on Thursday night in a schooner for New York. We think his departure will not have the desired effect. Having so easily driven *him* from the shore, their violent feelings will be transferred from him to us, in the hope of making us follow his example.. We are, very dear Sir, in a most awful and dangerous situation. Last night (Thursday) our coloured friends informed us that an attack was to be made on us.

A body of them assembled to act on the defensive, and we remained up until midnight on the watch, and then lay down with loaded pistols in our bed-rooms. Such is our present situation. Brethren Knibb and Gardner are to be tried next week, and in such society as this we have much cause to dread the result. But I must close, it being packet day.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your distressed, persecuted Missionary,

THOMAS F. ABBOTT.